

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 1004

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 BRASILIA 7209

ARA BR FOR ZIMMERMAN

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGSGC PFOR, BR

SUBJ: SPEECH BY MINISTER SILVEIRA ON BRAZIL'S LATIN AMERICAN
POLICY

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN A SPEECH IN SAO PAULO ON AUGUST 14, FOREIGN
MINISTER ANTONIO SILVEIRA GAVE A TOUR D'HORIZON OF BRAZIL'S LA
POLICY. REITERATING PRIMACY GOB ATTACHES TO THE REGION, SILVEIRA
EMPHASIZED THAT THE GOB HAS NOT LOST SIGHT OF ITS HEMISPHERIC
PERSPECTIVE AND HAS INCORPORATED INTO BRAZILIAN POLICY THE
ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL CHANGES OCCURRING NOT ONLY IN LATIN
AMERICA BUT IN WORLD RELATIONSHIPS. BRAZILIAN MULTILATERAL
ACTIONS HAVE AS A GOAL THE CREATION OF A TRULY HEMISPHERIC SYSTEM
OF CONSULTATION AND AGREEMENT BASED ON GROUP INTERESTS. HE
PLACED SELA IN THIS CONTEXT, NOTING IT COULD NOT SUBSTITUTE FOR
"NEW DIALOGUE." REGARDING RELATIONS WITH THE US, HE EMPHASIZED
DIALOGUE, NOTING DIFFERENCES DID NOT NECESSARILY MEAN CONFLICT AND
CITING GROWING MATURITY AND AUTONOMY OF LA NATIONS AS ELEMENTS
IMPOSING NEW FORMS OF HEMISPHERIC RELATIONSHIPS. HE SUGGESTED
"NEW DIALOGUE" HAD LAPSED THROUGH NO ONE'S FAULT AND EXPRESSED
HOPE THAT IT COULD BE TAKEN UP AGAIN. REGARDING BRAZIL'S
NEIGHBORS, HE DECLARED SUPPORT FOR THE TERRITORIAL STATUS QUO
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(EXCEPT BY PEACEFUL, NEGOTIATED CHANGE), AND FOR INTERNAL

POLITICAL STABILITY. EMBASSY FINDS SPEECH CLEAR, EVEN CANDID REHEARSAL OF GOB POLICY, PARTICULARLY REGARDING LAST TWO POINTS AND IN THE MAJOR ROLE IT ENVISIONS FOR BRAZIL. REMARKS ON SELA INDICATE NO FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN GOB ATTITUDE AND REFERENCES TO THE DESIRABILITY OF RENEWING THE NEW DIALOGUE CAN BE CONSIDERED POSITIVE. END SUMMARY.

1. MINISTER SILVEIRA BEGAN BY DRAWING ATTENTION TO THE NECESSITY OF REVALIDATING GOB FOREIGN POLICY IN THE LIGHT OF BRAZIL'S PROGRESS AND OF THE CHANGES IN LATIN AMERICA AND OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD WHICH HAVE GIVEN BIRTH TO A NEW SYSTEM OF POWER IN THE CONTINENT AND A NEW POSITION FOR LA IN THE WORLD SCENE. BRAZIL'S PHENOMENAL ECONOMIC GROWTH, SILVEIRA OBSERVED, HAS INCREASED ITS INTERESTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES IN LA. THE EMERGENCE OF NEW FOCI OF ECONOMIC POWER IN THE WORLD IN WHICH THE LESSER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE ACTIVE PARTICIPANTS HAS ALSO AFFECTED THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND UNDERDEVELOPED WORLD AND THE INTRACONTINENTAL RELATIONS OF THE AMERICAS.

2. THIS NEW REALITY CONCERNING THE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER IN THE WORLD HAS BROUGHT ABOUT A REDEFINITION OF THE RELATIONS BETWEEN DEVELOPED AND UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES WHICH ALSO AFFECTS THE EVOLUTION OF INTRACONTINENTAL RELATIONS IN THE AMERICAS. THE NORTH AMERICAN REACTION TO THE NEW REALITIES OF THE DISTRIBUTION OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER IN THE WORLD SCENE HAS IMMEDIATE REPERCUSSIONS IN HEMISPHERIC POLICY BY THE SPECIFIC WEIGHT OF THAT COUNTRY IN THE CONTINENT.

3. ANOTHER NEW ACTOR ON THE WORLD STAGE WITH DIRECT IMPACT ON LA IS THE TRANSNATIONAL CORPORATION, HE SAID, CALLING THIS NEW PRESENCE STILL SOMEWHAT MYSTERIOUS AND REFERRING TO EARLIER GEISEL SPEECH IN WHICH LATTER WONDERED WHETHER THE INCREASED TRANSNATIONAL PRESENCE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS WAS "FOR GOOD OR PERHAPS EVIL." BRAZIL, SILVEIRA SAID, HAS BEEN SUPPORTING THE CARRYING OUT OF STUDIES THAT WOULD PERMIT "GREATER DISCIPLINING OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THESE AGENTS," BE IT THROUGH A CODE OF CONDUCT, OR THROUGH A SET OF INDICATIVE NORMS NEGOTIATED AND FREELY AGREED TO BETWEEN GOVERNMENTS. CONFIDENTIAL

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4. THE MINISTER STATED THAT, ALTHOUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A CODE OF CONDUCT FOR MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS, ONE OF THE THEMES OF THE "NEW DIALOGUE," HAS BEEN INTERRUPTED BY "POLITICAL MOTIVES NOT HAVING ANY THING TO DO WITH THE SPECIFIC TOPIC," A COMMON LA POSITION HAD BEEN DEVELOPED ON SOME GENERAL NORMS CONCERNING TRANSNATIONALS. I HOPE THAT THE 'DIALOGUE' WITH THE US WILL BE RESUMED AT THE FORMAL LEVEL THAT SECRETARY

KISSINGER PROPOSED AND THAT THE COMMON POSITION SET BY LA
WILL CONSTITUTE THE BASIS OF A TEXT WHICH CAN ALSO BE
SUBSCRIBED TO BY THAT COUNTRY," SAID THE MINISTER.

5. SILVEIRA THEN OUTLINED THE BASIC OBJECTIVES OF GOB POLICY
IN LA AND THE DIPLOMATIC ACTIONS, MULTILATERAL
AND BILATERAL, BY WHICH THESE OBJECTIVES HAVE BEEN REALIZED.
IN ITS RELATIONS WITH LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES, HE SAID, THE
GOB IS MOTIVATED BY "SOME FUNDAMENTAL CONCERN LINKED TO ITS
DEVELOPMENT AND SECURITY." THE FIRST CONCERN IS THAT, TO
THE EXTENT POSSIBLE, THERE BE NO ALTERATION OF THE TERRITORIAL
STATUS QUO. THE CONTINENT, SILVEIRA NOTED, HAS BEEN "REASONABLY
FREE" OF ARMED CONFLICT OVER FRONTIER DISPUTES AND FOR BRAZIL,
A COUNTRY WITH TEN NEIGHBORS, IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THIS
SITUATION NOT CHANGE. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT WE WILL NOT
RECOGNIZE THE LEGITIMACY OF CERTAIN UNMISTAKABLE CLAIMS OF
POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE WHOLE CONTINENT NOR WILL WE
REFRAIN FROM GIVING OUR SUPPORT TO THE ASPIRATIONS OF INHABITANTS
OF THE CONTINENT FOR FREEDOM AGAINST THE COLONIAL PRESENCE.
THE MINISTER EMPHASIZED THAT ANY CHANGES SHOULD OCCUR THROUGH
NEGOTIATION AND NOT ARMED CONFLICT. IN TERRITORIAL DISPUTES
SILVEIRA OFFERED BRAZIL AS AN EXAMPLE OF A COUNTRY THAT HAD
RESOLVED SIMILAR PROBLEMS "ALWAYS BY THE ROUTE OF CONCILATION
AND OF ARBITRATION;" BRAZIL STANDS READY, HE ADDED, TO AID
OTHERS WITH FRONTIER PROBLEMS TO SETTLE THEIR DIFFERENCES IN
THE SAME MANNER.

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6. THE GOB HOPES, SILVEIRA WENT ON, THAT THE INTERNAL POLITICS OF EACH COUNTRY WILL DEVELOP BY PEACEFUL MEANS WITH A MINIMUM OF RADICALIZATION AND VIOLENCE "IN ORDER THAT THE INDISPENSABLE CLIMATE OF COOPERATION AND ORDERLY PROGRESS OF THE REGION NOT BE DISTURBED." BRAZIL, THE MINISTER IMMEDIATELY ADDED, REFUSES TO INTERFERE IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ITS NEIGHBORS BECAUSE OF ETHICAL CONVICTIONS AND KNOWLEDGE OF HOW ILLUSORY THE EQUILIBRIUM RESULTING FROM EXTERNAL PRESSURES IS.

7. A THIRD PREOCCUPATION OF BRAZILIAN DIPLOMACY, THE MINISTER IDENTIFIED AS THAT OF AVOIDING THE PREDOMINANCE OF TENDENCIES TOWARD COALESCENCE IN SUBREGIONAL GROUPS OF COUNTRIES IN A SPIRIT OF CONFRONTATION OR OF RIVALRY. FOR BRAZIL THE ELEMENTS SHARED IN COMMON BY THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE HEMISPHERE SHOULD PREDOMINATE AND "OUGHT TO PREVAIL" OVER THEIR DIFFERENCES OR DIVERGENCES. THE GOB LOOKS TO IMPLANT THIS SPIRIT, WHICH DOMINATES BRAZILIAN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH EACH COUNTRY INTO CONTINENTAL RELATIONS AS A WHOLE, DECLARED THE MINISTER.

8. SILVEIRA THEN OUTLINED GOB POLICY AND BILATERAL AGREEMENTS
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IN LATIN AMERICA. ON ARGENTINA, HE NOTED, THAT RELATIONS IN THE PAST WERE AMBIGUOUS, INVOLVING MUTUAL ADMIRATION AND SUSPICION. THE JOINT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND AGREEMENTS WITH ARGENTINA AND THE PLATE REGION NATIONS WERE MENTIONED AS VEHICLES TOWARD GREATER UNDERSTANDING AND COOPERATION. "THE ANDEAN NATIONS, NATURALLY TURNED TOWARD THE PACIFIC," MINISTER SILVEIRA PROUDLY STATED, "ARE LOOKING IN AN INCREASING MANNER TOWARD A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH OUR COUNTRY." BRAZIL'S RELATIONS WITH CHILE WERE CHARACTERIZED AS A "CORRECT AND CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP IN WHICH IT IS FUNDAMENTAL TO OUR PREOCCUPATION TO HELP IT OVERCOME ITS CURRENT CRISES AND RETAKE ITS ROLE IN THE CONTINENT."

9. VENEZUELA WAS CITED BY THE MINISTER AS AN OUTSTANDING EXAMPLE OF THE CHANGES LA COUNTRIES ARE UNDERGOING. THE SOARING PRICE OF PETROLEUM HAS CREATED AN AFFLUENCE FOR THE GOV WHICH COMCOMITANTLY INFLUENCES ITS CONTINENTAL STATUS. THE INCREASE OF POWER AND PROJECTION OF LA NATIONS IS, SILVEIRA NOTED, A POSITIVE FACT FOR BRAZIL: A RELATIVE PLURALITY OF CONTINENTAL POWER CENTERS IS BENEFICIAL TO THE ENTIRE HEMISPHERE BY DISCOURAGING THE FORMATION OF MONOLITHIC

BLOCS THAT CAN ASSUME NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTICS. THE IMPORTANT POINT FOR BRAZIL, SILVEIRA HIGHLIGHTED, IS THAT THE GOB CONDUCT ITS RELATIONS WITH EACH OF THESE CENTERS IN A BALANCED MANNER. THIS, HE POINTED OUT, CAN ONLY BE OBTAINED THROUGH DIALOGUE AND NOT THROUGH ISOLATION. HERE SILVEIRA CITED THE ALLAYING OF SUSPICION CONCERNING BRAZIL'S AMBITIONS FOR CONTINENTAL HEGEMONY WHICH RESULTED FROM THE RECENT VISIT BY THE VENEZUELAN FONMIN. SUMMING UP HIS BRIEF SURVEY OF BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL'S IMMEDIATE NEIGHBORS, SILVEIRA STATED: IN THE SOUTHERNHEMISPHERE, BRAZIL SEEKS TO WEAVE IN THE AREAS CLOSEST TO IT A WEB OF RELATIONS IN WHICH COOPERATION CLEARLY APPEARS NOT AS THE EXCLUSIVE PROPOSAL OF ONE OF THE PARTS BUT AS AN ADVANTAGEOUS MUTUAL EFFORT. THIS APPROACH, SILVEIRA HOPED, WOULD SERVE AS A MODEL FOR TRUE INTERDEPENDENCE WHICH "WE WISH TO SEE ESTABLISHED ON A WORLD PLANE: HORIZONTAL INTERDEPENDENCE, CHARACTERIZED BY EQUITY AND NOT BY SUBORDINATION."

11. TURNING FURTHER NORTH, SILVEIRA SAID THAT MEXICO RECOGNIZED
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THE IMPORTANCE OF BRAZIL FOR INTERAMERICAN AND INTRA-LATIN AMERICAN POLICY BY CONSULTING WITH THE GOB ON RELEVANT MULTILATERAL ISSUES SUCH AS SELA AND THE "NEW DIALOGUE" WITH THE US. SILVEIRA TOUCHED VERY BRIEFLY ON BRAZIL'S RELATIONS WITH CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN. HE DID SAY, WITH RESPECT TO THE CARIBBEAN, THAT BRAZIL COULD STILL EXPAND ITS PRESENCE CONSIDERABLY IN THAT HIGHLY STRATEGIC REGION.

12. CONCLUDING HIS OVERVIEW OF BRAZIL'S RELATIONS WITH THE COUNTRIES OF LATIN AMERICA, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT IT WAS CLEAR THAT A MODIFICATION HAD OCCURRED IN THE GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD BRAZIL IN LATIN AMERICA. THE FORTHRIGHT MANNER WITH WHICH BRAZIL HAS CONDUCTED ITS RELATIONS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS HAS BEEN A DEMONSTRATION OF THE SINCERITY OF BRAZILIAN PROPOSALS, HE DECLARED. THE BRAZILIAN POLICY OF ALWAYS LOOKING FOR THE BEST DIVISION OF BENEFITS IN AGREEMENTS STEMS FROM ITS BELIEF THAT ONLY EQUAL AGREEMENTS ARE LONG LASTING.

13. IN REGIONAL COOPERATION, HE SAID, THE GOB UNDERSTANDS THE REASONS UNDERLYING THE FORMATION OF SELA. HEMISPHERIC COOPERATION IN ECONOMIC MATTERS HAS ENCOUNTERED AS IT HAS PASSED FROM EXPRESSIONS OF INTENTION TO REALITY IMMENSE BARRIERS. THIS ENCOURAGES THE GOB TO REINFORCE THE MECHANISMS OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION AT THE LA SUBREGIONAL LEVEL. SILVEIRA NOTED THAT SELA, UP TO A CERTAIN POINT, WAS THE RESULT OF LA FRUSTRATION WITH THE UNSUCCESSFUL EFFORT OF CONTINENTAL COOPERATION WHICH HAD BEEN CALLED THE "NEW

DIALOGUE." THIS FACT GAVE RISE TO THE OPINIONS THAT SELA MIGHT BE CONFRONTATIONIST WITH RESPECT TO THE "PARTNER IN THE INTERRUPTED DIALOGUE." HE ADDED THEN THE "DIALOGUE" IN TRUTH, WAS NOT FINISHED NOR DID THE LA PARTNERSHIP INTEND TO SUBSTITUTE FOR IT.

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14. SILVEIRA WENT ON TO SAY THAT THESE OBSERVATIONS RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE DIRECTION US-LA RELATIONS WOULD TAKE IN THE FUTURE. HE OBSERVED THAT MANY SPEAK OF A CRISIS IN THE RELATIONS BETWEEN LA AND THE US WITH A NEGATIVE CONNOTATION. FOR HIM, THE CONCEPT OF CRISIS IS "EMINENTLY POSITIVE" AND CARRIES WITH IT THE IDEAS OF "DISTINCTION, OF CHOICE, OF DECISION AND OF SOLUTION." IN THIS CONTEXT THE "CRISIS" IN INTERAMERICAN RELATIONS IS NO MORE THAN THE RESULT OF A LONG PROCESS THROUGH WHICH LATIN AMERICA LOOKS TO AFFIRM ITS MATURITY AND ITS CAPACITY OF DIALOGUING WITH THE US AS A PARTNER WHOSE AUTONOMY AND PARTICULAR INTERESTS ONE OUGHT TO RESPECT. IT IS NECESSARY THAT THIS DISTINCT REALITY BE MATCHED BY THE RECOGNITION THAT NEW FORMS OF HEMISPHERIC RELATIONSHIP ARE IMPOSING THEMSELVES. DIALOGUE IS THE KEY WORD, HE SAID, BECAUSE BEHIND ALL THE MANIFESTATIONS OF DISSATISFACTION ONE CAN READ THE DESIRE OF LA TO ENTERTAIN WITH THE US A MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP.

"THIS RELATIONSHIP, IF IT PRESUPPOSES DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW," SILVEIRA CONTINUED, "DOES NOT HOLD THEM TO BE NECESSARILY CONFLICTING." SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER AT A CERTAIN POINT CAME TO GRASP THAT STATE OF SPIRIT, HE ADDED: "THE FAVORABLE REACTION OF LATIN AMERICA TO HIS CONFIDENTIAL

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PROPOSAL TO FORMALIZE A NEW SCHEME OF RELATIONS, IN THE FORM WHICH HE CALLED 'NEW DIALOGUE,' CLEARLY SHOWED THAT THE SPIRIT OF CONFRONTATION WAS PREVAILING IN THE CONTINENT." HE CONTINUED: "IT IS TO BE LAMENTED THAT WHAT FOR THE MOMENT WAS CALLED 'THE SPIRIT OF TLATELOLCO' HAS SO SWIFTLY FADED. WE OUGHT NOT LOSE THE HOPE, HOWEVER, THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO RETURN TO THE DIALOGUE AND THE TOTALITY OF ITS ORIGINAL INTENTIONS. PURSUING THE QUESTION OF FUTURE DIRECTIONS WITH US-LA RELATIONS, SILVEIRA STATED THAT THE US, AS THE HEMISPHERE'S MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY, HAS INCREASED RESPONSIBILITY TO SEE THAT "THE DOMINANT ASPIRATIONS OF THE COUNTRIES OF THE REGION" BE REALIZED. THOSE ASPIRATIONS INVOLVE GROWING OPPORTUNITIES FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT, GREATER ABILITY TO DEFEND NATIONAL INTERESTS ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, AND "THE POSSIBILITY OF HEADING INTO THE FUTURE WITH THE CERTAINTY OF PEACE AND THE HOPE OF CONCORD."

15. COMMENT: POLITICAL ADVISOR ON SILVEIRA'S STAFF TOLD EMBOFF THAT SPEECH WAS EQUIVALENT OF "GOING NAKED IN THE STREET." WE FIND THIS AN EXAGGERATION. WE, HOWEVER, CONSIDER THE SPEECH UNUSUALLY CLEAR AND EVEN CANDID WITH REGARD TO BRAZIL'S VIEW OF ITS RELATIONSHIPS WITH ITS NEIGHBORS, PARTICULARLY IN ITS FRANK ADDRESS TO TERRITORIAL CHANGES (ALTHOUGH THE BOLIVIAN-PERUVIAN-CHILEAN SITUATION AS TREATED WITH FLEXIBILITY); AND TO BRAZIL'S DESIRE FOR DOMESTIC STABILITY WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES AND TO BRAZIL'S EXPECTATION TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE CONTINENT. SILVEIRA'S REMARKS ON SELA REPRESENT SOMEWHAT OF AN EVALUATION IN THAT AN EXPRESSION OF UNDERSTANDING FOR REASONS BEHIND THE ORGANIZATION'S CREATION HAS REPLACED THE FORMER RESERVATION, WHICH HAD BECOME ALMOST RITUAL, ABOUT NON-CONFRONTATION. IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT IT IS NOW CLEAR THERE WILL BE SUCH AN ORGANIZATION AND BRAZIL WILL BE PART OF IT, HOWEVER, WE CONSIDER THE SHIFT NATURAL AND NOT INDICATIVE OF ANY FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE IN GOB ATTITUDE. FINALLY, WHILE HE REITERATED PREVIOUSLY CALLS ON THE US TO ACCEPT SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR LA ASPIRATIONS, HE WAS NOT AT ALL STRIDENT ON THE POINT, AND HIS REFERENCES TO THE DESIRABILITY OF REVIEWING THE NEW DIALOGUE CAN BE CONSIDERED POSITIVE. END COMMENT.

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